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FRANCIS JOSEPH I., AND THE AUSTRIA-HUNGARY EMPIRE.

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THE revival of the everlasting Eastern Question, brought about by the recent stirring events in Bulgaria, places in a conspicuous light the relative and rival attitude toward each other of the Empires of Russia and of Austria-Hungary. These two Empires stand, as it were, face to face, armed *cap-à-pie*; each narrowly



watching the other lest that other should pounce upon the prey that both covet; and each resolved that the other shall not obtain that prey without a deadly struggle. Amid all the many European rivalries and contentions—the fears of England for her gorgeous Indian dependency, the burning desire of France to avenge herself upon Germany and recover Alsace and Lorraine, the aggrandizing ambition of Italy, the armed reserve of Germany regarding a possible, colossal enemy on either side—the probabilities of a great European war, also include the prospect of a desperate conflict between the armies of the Czar and of the Austrian Kaiser.

In the light of passing events, it is important and interesting to know something of the great Powers who may, any day, be engaged in a deadly struggle. Of Russia, very much is already known, through the medium of English and American writers who have studied or sojourned in that vast and despotic Empire. But concerning Austria-Hungary, the general public information is vague. The Empire of Francis Joseph has, somehow, escaped the minute attention of readers. The wonderful changes which have come over it in the past twenty years—changes involving one of the most interesting and suggestive peaceful revolutions which has ever taken place in the history of nationalities—has occurred, as far as American observation is concerned, quietly and almost without comment.

It is the purpose of this article to give some account of the past and present of that strange conglomeration of diverse, restive, and mutually jealous races which are ruled over by Francis Joseph, and are known to the world at large as the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

And, at the very first glance, one remarkable fact as to Austria-Hungary obtrudes itself upon our view; one striking respect in which that Empire differs absolutely from any other European state. Alone among the six Great Powers of Europe, Austria-Hungary cannot be called, in any correct sense of the name, a nation. There is an English, a German, a Russian, a French, an Italian nation. Each of these has its dominant race, its prevailing language, its common customs, its distinctive national spirit and traits. But an Austrian nation, or race, or language, or character, there is none. Of nations in Austria-Hungary, revealing all the marks of nationality, there are at least four. There are the Germans of Upper and Lower Austria, Suabia, the Tyrol, and Istria. There are the Magyars of Hungary. There are the Slaves of Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia, Croatia, and Dalmatia. There are the Italians of Trieste. Neither one of these nationalities prevails in the Empire of Francis Joseph, either by numbers, or by national force. There are more Slaves in the German half of the Empire than there are Germans. There are more Slaves, Serbs and Roumans in the Hungarian half of the Empire than there are Hungarians. The German minority in the one case, the Magyar minority in the other, dominate and rule the inferior and divided Slavonic majority. Of the four nations in Austria-Hungary, the Germans are compact and united, and so are the Magyars; the Slaves, on the other hand, who form a large plurality, at least, of the whole Empire, are distracted and divided in a hundred ways. The Slavic Czech of Bohemia differs as completely from the Slavic Pole of Galicia, or the Slavic Croat or Dalmatian of the Adriatic, as he does from his German or Magyar neighbors. He speaks a Slavic dialect which they cannot understand; his political aspirations are as wide apart from theirs as the poles are asunder; his manners and customs are as removed from them as from those of the Londoner or the Parisian. The Bohemian is a highly

civilized European; the Croat is a semi-barbarous semi-Oriental.

Not only is the Austro-Hungarian Empire rent by these strongly defined racial divisions, but, correspondingly it is distracted by their utterly diverse political aims and desires. The Hungarian and the German are well satisfied with the dual kingdom which exists. They, between them, control, each, one independent half of the Empire. They are resolved upon a Centralized Government, a concentrated Power; upon binding close the different members of the Empire, and making a great, strong, united state. Not so the Slavic kingdoms and provinces. Bohemia, Moravia, Galicia demand a federation only. They are the centrifugal forces of the pudding-stone Empire. They desire local autonomy; what the Irish would call "Home Rule." They claim to be independent kingdoms, and clamor for Parliaments of their own. So intensely do the Bohemians feel their nationality, that the refusal to grant them autonomy has resulted in their abstention from taking any part in the government of the Austrian Kingdom, to which they belong. For many years the Bohemian deputies have obstinately absented themselves from the sessions of the Cis-Leithan Parliament.

Thus Austria is not a nation, but a group of nations, which are connected with each other by a purely dynastic bond. They are the dominions of the House of Hapsburg. Their only point of contact is the fact that, in one way or another, they have come under the rule of the same sovereign. How they chanced to come under that rule is an interesting phase of history. Some of them became appanages of the double-headed black eagle by inheritance; some, by marriage; some, by election; some, by treaty agreement; some, by forcible partition; some, by sheer conquest of superior and relentless military strength. The nucleus of the Empire was the little Duchy of "Oesterreich," or Austria, which Charlemagne marked out on the south bank of the Danube, as a rampart of defense for his Empire against the incursions of the fierce and semi-barbarous Magyars. Rudolph of Hapsburg, the first of the name who became German Emperor, granted the little duchy to his son Albert, who was thus the first Duke of Austria. After a while another duchy, on the north bank of the Danube, was added to the first, and the whole became an archduchy. Albert brought with him his hereditary domain of Styria, and thus his state gradually grew. Later, the Kingdom of Bohemia and the Kingdom of Hungary got into the habit of electing the Hapsburg Princes as their Kings; and so, after a while, those Crowns began to descend in the Hapsburg House by inheritance. But it should always be borne in mind that the three Crowns—Austria, Bohemia, Hungary—were never united into one; but have always remained separate Crowns, though worn by the same potentate, from the earliest time to this. Bohemia and Hungary claim, to-day, to be, and to have always been, independent Kingdoms. Croatia, Transylvania, Dalmatia, were conquered by Austrian and Hungarian arms. Galicia, or Austrian Poland, came into the hands of the Hapsburgs as the result of that monstrous crime of the last century, the partition of the ancient Polish Kingdom between Russia, Austria and Prussia.

The only circumstance which saved the Hapsburg Empire from going to pieces long ago, was the elevation of its Princes to the august dignity of German Emperor, and the fact that, for several centuries, that dignity remained, without interruption, in the Austrian House. A power built up by an accidental combination of so many racial atoms needed, for very existence sake,

some sort of historic glamour, a lofty title, a symbolic honor, to bind it together. A happy chance supplied to the Austrian sovereign just what was wanted to fulfill this need. "The thing lacking," as a recent writer has said, "was found in the long connection between the Ducal and Archducal House of Austria with the Roman Empire and the Kingdom of Germany. The majesty of a long line of Cæsars was gradually spread over the Austrian dukes and their motley territories."

The office of German Emperor was elective; but, from the beginning of the XVth Century down to the beginning of the XIXth, the Austrian prince was as regularly chosen to it as he succeeded to his hereditary dominion. This Imperial dignity, however, had attached to it but very little real power. It was a showy but empty bauble. The Emperor derived little or no revenue from the Empire. His executive authority over the kingdoms and duchies of Germany was almost nothing. Again and again the Emperor's own vassals waged war against him. Once, at least, the Protestant princes of Germany combined to oppose him who was in name, at least, their supreme lord. But yet the imposing title, the historic dignity of the Imperial Crown, gave the Austrian princes that prestige in their own territories which was indispensable to prevent the various nationalities under their rule from breaking loose and shattering the conglomerated state they had built up stone by stone.

It was the great Napoleon who, after his splendid victory over the Austrians on the field of Austerlitz, deprived the Hapsburg princes of their Imperial Crown. He abolished the German Empire altogether, with the idea of erecting a French Empire on its ruins. Then Francis of Austria arbitrarily assumed an entirely new title—a title wholly without reason, authority or political logic—that of "Emperor of Austria." Since there is no "Austrian" nation, as has been shown, that title is wholly anomalous and unmeaning. But Francis, by this course, wished to show the world that the House of Hapsburg was not to be outdone, in the matter of titular dignity, by the House of Bonaparte.

In place of the German Empire a German Confederation was created; and this Confederation existed, with Prussia and Austria as its leading members, down to the decisive defeat of Austria at Sadowa in 1866. Gradually the influence of Austria became predominant in the Confederation, and for many years the German Diet acted very much as Vienna willed. But the battle of Sadowa changed all that. Austria was dethroned from her dominant position in the Confederation, and was then excluded from Germany altogether, and thus ceased to be a German State; and Prussia rose to the chief place in Germany.

Up to 1866 the name of Austria was identified for centuries with the ideas of absolute despotism, unfettered personal power, kingship by divine right, the oppression of peoples, the refusal of all liberty, selfish conquest, and the iron dominion of military force. The Emperor believed himself to have absolute authority over the lives and property of all his subjects, not only those of his dominions proper, but also those who came under his rule by conquest. Everywhere through the Austrian dominions extended the sway of an omnipresent police, which obeyed the Imperial nod, and kept the people under a rigid and perpetual surveillance. Attached to the police was a system of espionage, secretly spread through the Empire, to detect any symptom of disloyalty or incipient revolt. A vast and rapacious bureaucracy was another powerful engine in the hands of the Austrian despot. The Church was his faithful ally, and prelates and priests

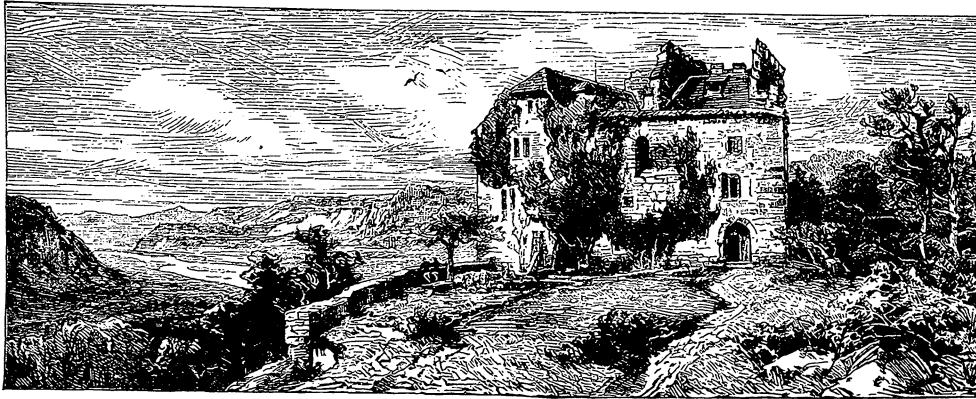
served his cause and his power, receiving in their turn his protection in imposing their authority upon the people. Education, the Press and marriage were as much under the control of the priesthood as was religion itself.

But a momentous change swept over the Austro-Hungarian Empire after the crushing defeat of Sadowa. That defeat excluded Austria from Germany, and forced the Emperor to rely for the safety of his crown upon winning the loyalty and bringing about the content of the subjects of his now discordant realm. After Sadowa it seemed as if the Austrian Empire were about to collapse and separate into a dozen parts. The Czechs and Magyars were alike restive and discontented. Hungary was now the most important and formidable member of the Austrian dominions. As Bismarck said, Sadowa had transferred the centre of gravity of the Empire from Vienna to Pesth.

The Emperor Francis Joseph was wise and shrewd enough to perceive the only method by which he could save his realm from disintegration. He saw that he must abandon the despotic ideas and powers of the past, and put Austria in harmony with the progressive spirit of the age. Political liberty must be granted to his subjects. In place of a purely personal authority, irresponsible and unlimited, a constitution, involving representative institutions and responsible Ministers, must be established. First of all it was necessary to appease Hungary. Hungary, disaffected and rebellious, now inevitably meant ruin to the Empire. Deprived of German support, the Empire could not hope to successfully resist another Hungarian revolt. Francis Joseph, therefore, resolved frankly to yield to Hungary's demand to be made an independent Kingdom, with a Parliament and an Executive of her own. At the same time he made up his mind to grant a real Parliament to Cis-Leithan Austria.

He chose as the chief agent to carry out his new scheme a Saxon statesman, who was also a Protestant, Baron von Beust, and time proved that this choice was a very wise one. Von Beust soon showed that he had ample capacity to perform one of the most difficult and perplexing tasks ever committed to any statesman's hands. In order to effect the transformation of an ancient, traditional, absolute monarchy, into a dual, constitutional Empire, Von Beust constructed the complex system which still survives in Austria. His system involved the creation of two Kingdoms—Cis-Leithan Austria and Hungary—each with its own Ministry and Parliament, and each independent of the other. The Emperor was to be King of each, wearing the two crowns separate. The two Parliaments were to consist of two Houses, the Lower elected upon a broad basis of popular suffrage, and the Upper to comprise a certain quota of hereditary nobles, the archbishops and bishops, and a certain number of members appointed by the Emperor for life. Each Parliament was to be supreme in the management of the local affairs of the Kingdom to which it pertained. Each Kingdom, moreover, was to have its own Ministers, supreme in their sphere, who were to be responsible to the respective Parliaments alone. Then Von Beust caused the two Kingdoms to be subdivided into provinces, twenty-one in all. These provinces were accorded each its local Legislature or Diet, elected respectively by the great landed proprietors, the citizens of the towns, the small farmers and peasants of the rural districts, and the trade guilds. The Diets were invested with the power to make local laws, and to deal with education, public works and other local matters relating to the provinces.

Above all these Parliaments and Legislatures Von



THE HABSBURG, ARGOVIE, SWITZERLAND, CRADLE OF THE HAPSBURGS.

Beust erected a supreme legislative body to manage the common interests of the whole Empire. This body he called the "Delegations." It was composed of sixty members elected by the Cis-Leithan Parliament, and sixty elected by the Hungarian Parliament. To the Delegations were given supreme power over the Imperial Finances, Foreign Affairs and War. They met alternately at Vienna and at Pesth. Attached to them were three Imperial Ministers of Foreign Affairs, War and Finance, who composed the Executive, and who were made responsible to the Delegations alone. Such is a brief outline of the executive and legislative machinery which Von Beust constructed to replace the old autocracy. It was a very complicated machinery, the parts of which

fitted ill, and which has not always worked smoothly or effectively. But it at least accomplished the main purpose for which it was constructed, which was to make the political liberties of the Austrian peoples a substantial reality. It placed Hungary in the position for which she had long clamored in vain, sometimes with arms in her hands. Hungary was now indeed a practically independent Kingdom, satisfying the aspirations

and conciliating the proud spirit of her people, and enabling her to become the mistress of her own destiny. A marvelous change very soon came over the attitude of Hungary toward their King, the Emperor and his dynasty. Francis Joseph repaired to Presburg, in Hungary, and there, amid an imposing ceremony, and in presence of a throng of the haughty Magyar nobles, was solemnly crowned with the ancient crown of St. Stephen. Hungary, from being the most disloyal and turbulent of his states, became the strong support and bulwark of his throne. The Magyars were soon the most ardently loyal of his subjects, and in a few years the strange phenomenon appeared, of a Magyar rebel of 1848, who had had a price set upon his head, rising to the highest post

in the Emperor's gift. When Count Andrassy was made Arch-chancellor of the Empire, it was then clear the reconciliation between Hungary and the Hapsburg Crown was complete.

This great change from an absolute despotism to a constitutional dual monarchy was followed by a magical transformation of the peoples ruled by Francis Joseph, from a community of slaves into a land of free men. The gates of the Temple of Liberty were thrown wide open to the



THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA IN COSTUME AS KING OF HUNGARY ON THE DAY OF HIS CORONATION.



AUSTRIANS DEFEATED BY THE PRUSSIANS AT SADOWA.

Austrian millions. The Emperor's power to dispense with the laws passed by his Parliaments was taken from him. Civil marriages were now allowed by law. Before, no one could be legally married, except by a priest. For the first time Austrian, Magyar and Slava were permitted to assemble in free meetings for political, as well as other purposes. The Press was delivered from the degrading censorship to which it had formerly been subjected. The police came under the control of a Minister responsible to the representatives of the people. The system of spies was to a very large degree done away with. Education had always been a monopoly of the Church. "Study in foreign universities," says Müller, "was forbidden. The entrance into Austrian schools of foreign teachers, and of scholars over ten years of age, was forbidden, and even for younger children, special permission had to be obtained. The imparting of private instruction was made very difficult, permission being granted by the police only under oppressive conditions. The object of the Austrian schools was, not to produce men of learning, but subjects and officials trained to blind obedience."

With the new Constitution, all this was changed. Every person was now allowed to teach, whether priest or layman. Children of every creed were admitted into the public schools. School boards were established in every province of the Empire; and so education became free and untrammelled. More important still, the freedom of the citizen was amply secured by a series of wise and liberal laws. The *habeas corpus* was for the first time introduced into once despotic Austria. It was declared that, thenceforth, "every citizen should be free in person and in his house." No house could be searched without a special warrant issued by a judge. No private letter could be opened without the special order of a magistrate, except in case of war. No citizen could be kept in confinement more than forty-eight hours on mere suspicion. Every creed was declared entitled to absolute freedom of worship. Besides, every nationality in the Empire was asserted to have equal rights—the right to its own language and its own national customs. "The State recognizes all languages spoken in a given province as equal in the public schools, the public offices and generally in public life. Where more than one language is spoken, the authorities are to provide that each citizen shall receive State aid for education in his own tongue without being forced to learn any other."

Such, in general, is the wonderful transformation which was the result of tremendous defeats in war, and which has taken place in Austria-Hungary within thirty years. That Empire to-day is thoroughly constitutional; the old despotism has vanished for ever. It could not, by any accident or combination of circumstances, be restored. "The lovers of freedom," once exclaimed Burke, "will be free." A great people which has once tasted liberty can never be wholly weaned from it again. No doubt, all the difficulties of the Emperor, all the dangers to his Empire, did not vanish when he threw aside the mantle of a Caesar, and assumed the rule of a constitutional ruler. The Slaves are still restive, and still demand "autonomy." That is, Bohemia, Galicia, Dalmatia, desire each a Parliament of its own, just as Austria proper has its Parliament, and Hungary its Parliament. Political agitation is constantly rife in the Slavic provinces; and this creates a constant, though it can scarcely be called a deadly, peril to the Crown. The weakness of the Empire—its diversity in race, creed, language, and custom—is inveterate and incurable. The best that can be said for the new system of constitutional events is, that it saved the Empire from immediate and inevitable collapse, and

has so held its various and naturally conflicting parts together.

That Austria-Hungary should thus have been saved, by a heroic political remedy, from the certain collapse which once threatened it, was in no small degree owing to the character of the particular Hapsburg who was ruling over the Empire in the period of its deadly danger. Francis Joseph I. is no common man, and no common sovereign. In his long and almost continuous troublous reign, he has proved himself a wise and far-seeing prince. If it cannot be said of him, any more than of the Bourbons, that he forgets nothing, it can, at least, be asserted that, unlike the Bourbons, he can learn something. There is much that is worthy of high admiration and respect in a potentate, who has not only cast aside the garb of despotism which he inherited, but who has done so graciously, promptly, at the right moment, and in obedience to the interests of the subjects who were once practically his slaves. Francis Joseph is the oldest sovereign in Europe, in length of reign, Queen Victoria of England excepted. He has presided over the destinies of his realm for thirty-eight years. He entered upon the Hapsburg inheritance before he was of age; and he has not yet long passed the period of middle life. No one ever looked upon Francis Joseph as a brilliant man, or as a ruler capable of great statestrokes or unusual administrative talents. His qualities are rather solid and substantial than shining. But he has, at least, the great merit, in a man used from youth up to a despotic sceptre, of reading the signs of the times, and bending to the inevitable; of sincere abnegation and abdication of powers once limitless; of the shrewd choice of the right men to undertake the complex task which events forced upon him; and of honestly carrying out the scheme of constitutional form and liberty, when once that scheme had been devised and put in operation. There are other respects in which Francis Joseph is worthy of high praise. In personal character, he is temperate, upright, manly, and of a kindly disposition. He is, moreover, scrupulously faithful to the duties which, even under a constitutional system, his Imperial office imposes upon him. Once he was, perhaps, the worst-bated man in the Austrian dominions. This was in the early days of his reign, when he seemed to be blindly and obstinately clinging to the traditional absolutism of his Hapsburg predecessors. But he speedily won the good opinion of his subjects, when he was seen to devote himself, with hardworking perseverance and stubborn energy, to the arduous work of solving the problem of his Government, and at last accomplished it in spite of every obstacle. His life has, ever since, been one of regular, constant, and unremitting labor. Probably there is no Austrian, above the laboring class, who works more indefatigably. Francis Joseph rises at six every morning; and, as he takes his coffee, reads the morning papers. Then he walks for half an hour through the luxuriant Park of Schonbrunn; and as he strolls, a secretary, walking by his side, gives him an abstract of the letters which have come by the morning mail. Returning to his study, the Emperor dictates answers to such letters and petitions as have any importance in his eyes. It is worthy of note that these answers are given in seven different languages, according to their destination in different parts of the Empire; for Francis Joseph is easily the master of the languages of his many-tongued subjects. It is said that he thus disposes of 200 letters and petitions every day before nine o'clock. Next, he receives his Ministers, who report daily to the Emperor on subjects connected with their several departments. The

ministerial interviewers occupy two hours, after which the Emperor takes a frugal lunch, usually of eggs, bread and butter, with a single glass of rich Hungarian wine. At noon, the doors are thrown open, and Francis Joseph receives his subjects without distinction of rank or social standing. At this hour, he appears as the kindly and gracious father of his people.

"The utmost care is taken," writes one who has been a witness of this patriarchal scene, "not to slight any of those who wish to speak to the Emperor, on account of their poverty or humble station in life. The Emperor himself often looks into the anteroom; and when he sees some old persons there, he motions them to step up to him, at the same time asking the younger applicants to wait, even though they belong to the highest circles of society." This general reception lasts an hour. At one, the Emperor for the first time joins his family circle. The Empress, that superb Elizabeth of Bavaria, who, in middle age, preserves, only in a riper maturity, that beauty which, in her youth, dazzled all Europe with its refulgence, is there to greet him. She is still the finest-looking female sovereign in Europe. People still talk of her lustrous dark eyes, her rich brunette complexion, her abundant, shining black hair, her handsome, firm mouth, and her chin of such perfect mold that the Greek sculptors might envy it; her haughty, but not arrogant carriage, and her magnificently full, well-rounded, straight and supple form. Surely never was there a more dazzling, more anomalous, grandmother in the world!

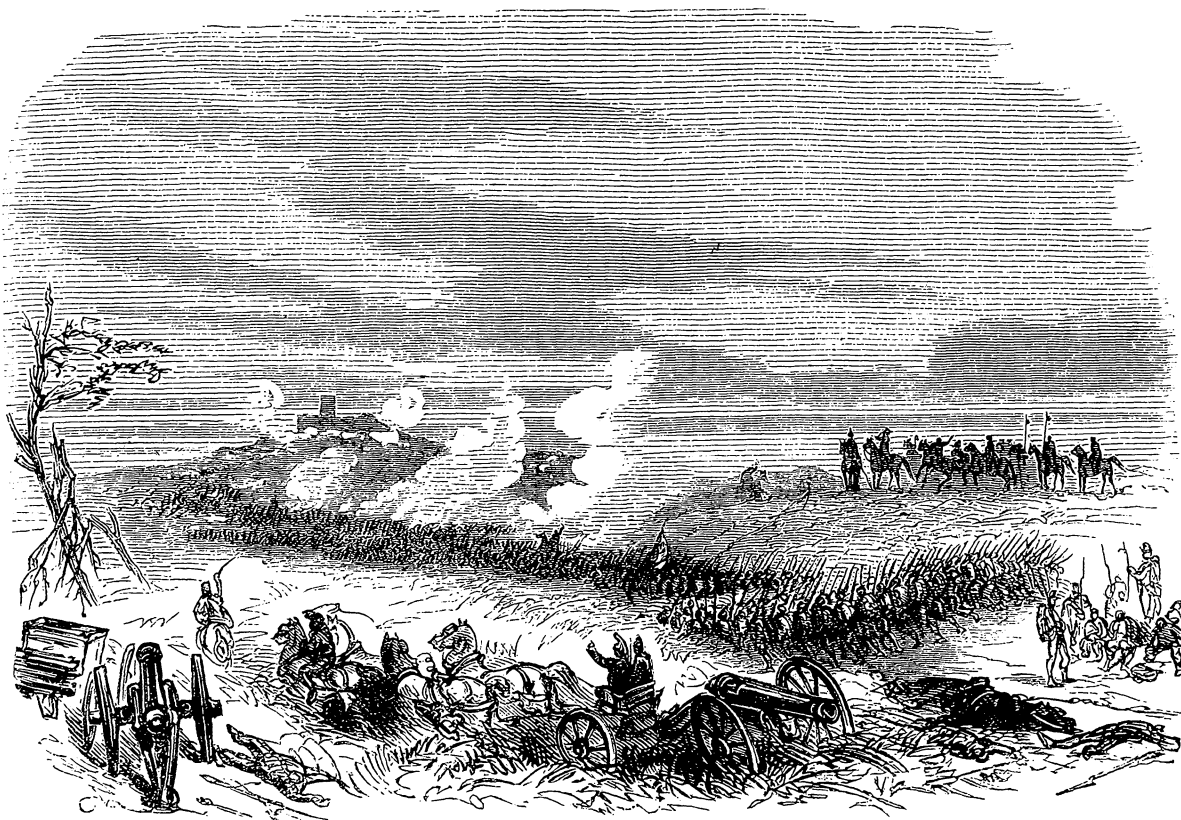
A brief ride on horseback occupies Francis Joseph after the domestic reunion; and at two he is back in his small reception-room, receiving ambassadors or state officials. He dines at five; but for the pleasures of the table he cares little. His favorite dish is roast chicken, taken with a few sips of Tokay. He dispatches his meal in a brief twenty minutes, and once more returns to his cabinet, where he finishes off for the day whatever business remains for him to do. Later, he attends the Empress to the opera, or to a concert; but he rarely stays through either performance. The late evening finds him reading; for one of his favorite recreations is to run over the latest publications, which are brought and laid on his table as soon as they are issued. He retires at midnight, unless he is kept up on some important business; for, early and late, Francis Joseph is always accessible to his Ministers; and, indeed, to all who have matters of moment to lay before him.

The habits of the Austrian Emperor are temperate, correct and regular. He enjoys the work of his Imperial office, and has few amusements besides those which belong to it. He has no taste for that wasteful sort of prodigality which is called magnificence. He is thought to be wealthy; but he has never been accused of rapacity, and his personal wants are few. He escapes the state and ceremony demanded by his position as quickly and as often as he properly can. His household is carefully, almost parsimoniously, managed. He is not at all fond of military parades and show, and shirks the task of reviewing his troops whenever he decently can. The only recreation in which Francis Joseph seems still to delight is the chase. He is fond of chamois-hunting in the beautiful Tyrolean Alps, and is said to look forward with boyish glee to the prospect of a week's rambling over the glaciers, with his short rifle slung across his back. He is a daring hunter, and has more than once risked his life among the Tyrolean gorges and precipices. Such are some of the features of the life of the remarkable sovereign in whose reign, and to a large degree by whose aid, Austria-Hungary has become a constitutional state.

As a great power of Europe, the position of Austria-Hungary has entirely shifted since the despotism was exchanged for a constitutional system. Before the battle of Sadowa the Empire was intimately connected with Germany and German policy. For many years it was the controlling power in the Germanic confederation. It was always in rivalry with Prussia for the chief influence in that body. Once expelled from Germany, however, Austria-Hungary ceased to bear high interests in Western Europe. It became rather an eastern than a western power. Just as the centre of gravity of the Empire shifted from Vienna to Pesth, so the locality of its international interests shifted from the arena of Germany to that of Southeastern Europe. Hungary now held the key to Austrian policy. Hungary must, above all, be heeded and appeased; her fears must be allayed, and, as far as possible, her ambitions satisfied. Now Hungary has always feared a union of the Slavic races in Eastern Europe. She has dreaded the possibility of the erection of a great Slavic state on her own borders, which might win away from her Crown the Slavic provinces now subject to it. Besides, Hungary has a deep interest in the control of the Danube and its mouths. The Danube is the great main artery of Hungarian commerce; it is the natural outlet to Hungarian products and enterprise. Foremost of all, Hungary has regarded with the deepest apprehension the ambition southward revealed by the Russian Empire. With the encroachment of Russia toward or to the Bosphorus, pan-Slavism—the aspiration for a union of the Slavic races, perhaps under the Russian Crown—could not but receive a tremendous impetus. It would destroy the balance of power in Southeastern Europe, make Russia supreme from the Neva to the water frontier of Asia, and put Hungary in deadly peril of a great loss of territory and strength.

In this fact lies the secret of the policy of Austria-Hungary as a great European power. For two centuries Austria's chief rival and antagonist was Prussia. Not only has this ceased to be the fact since the Hapsburg was expelled from Germany, but the once inveterate rivals have become close allies and friends. The interests of the two Empires, after having been for so long absolutely irreconcilable, have come to coincide. The one strong and established alliance to-day in Europe is that between Germany and Austria-Hungary. It is founded upon the circumstance that the interests of the two Powers are harmonious. Germany desires a great, united, unassailable Empire, and to this the realm of Francis Joseph no longer objects. Austria-Hungary wishes to preserve the dual Empire, and to extend itself, if anywhere, eastward and southeastward. Both are anxious to restrain Russia from growing too great and strong. The chief rival of Austria-Hungary in Europe, therefore, is no longer Prussia or Germany—it is Russia. It is the task of Francis Joseph to check any encroachment of Russia southward of the banks of the Pruth. It will be for Austria, if for any power, to go to war with Russia in case the Czar once more undertakes to march on Constantinople.

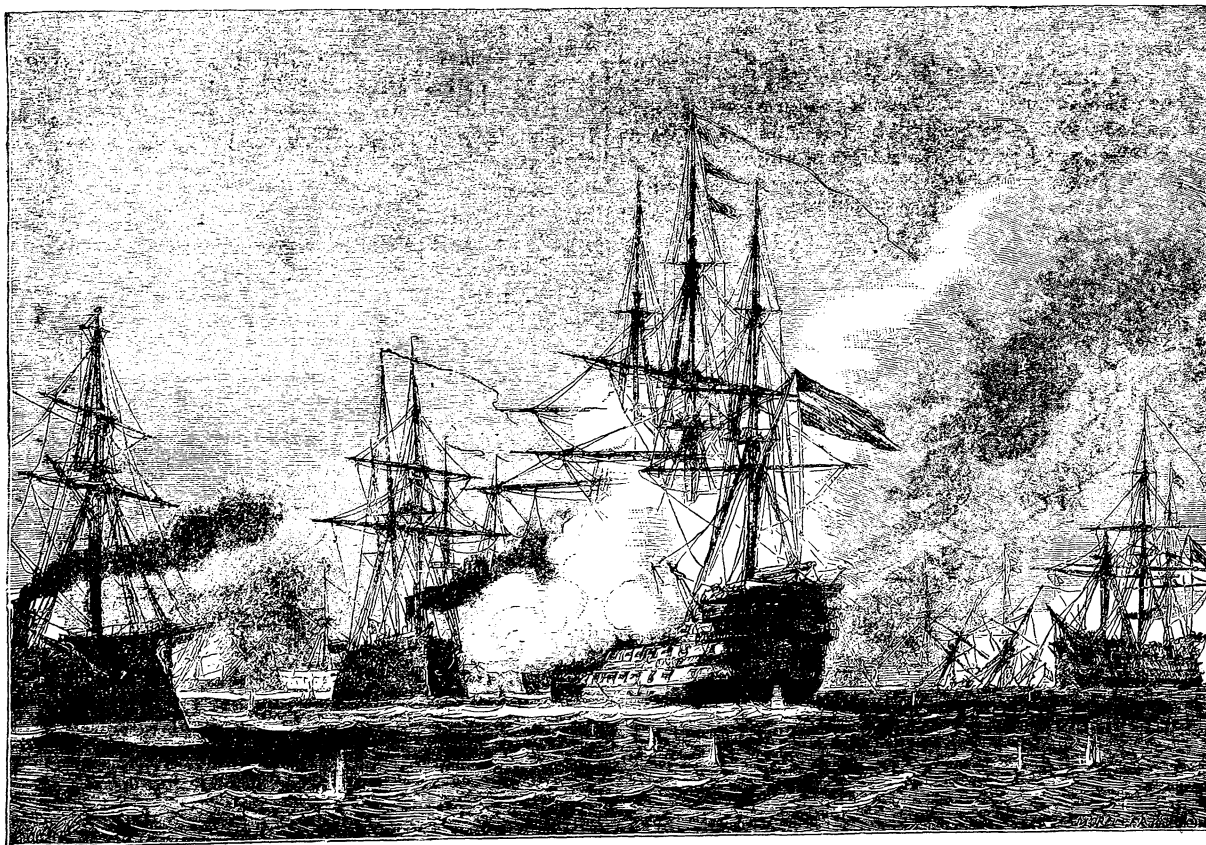
By the Treaty of Berlin, and by the combined influence of England and Germany, the two once Turkish provinces of Bosnia and the Herzegovina, lying south of Hungary and west of Croatia, were placed under the protection of the Austrian Empire. These two provinces have ever since been ruled by Austrian governors, and garrisoned by Austrian soldiers. It is altogether likely that at a favorable moment they will be formally incorporated as a part of the Austrian realm. Thus Austria-Hungary has taken, already, an important step eastward.



THE BATTLE OF CUSTOZZA.

It is probable that Austria-Hungary's ambition, moreover, does not stop at the Servian or the Greek frontier. There is little doubt that, divorced for ever as is the Aus-

trian Empire, from all hope of aggrandizement in other parts of Europe, it does aspire and aim at further acquisitions of territory in the southeast. In the natural



AUSTRIANS DEFEATING ITALIANS IN THE NAVAL FIGHT AT LISSA.

course of events it seems likely that, when the Turkish Empire in Europe suffers the final collapse which has long been threatened—when the Turks are really driven “bag and baggage” out of Europe—one or other of the Great Powers will inherit the dominions of the Sultan. It is perfectly clear that Russia is desperately resolved to become his heir; to reign in Constantinople; to enthrone and consecrate the Czar in the ancient Greek Cathedral of St. Sophia; to dominate the Bosphorus, and to become navally supreme on the *Ægean*. The great general aim of Austria-Hungary is less clear. But who can doubt that the Hapsburg, with his gaze strained eastward, with his inherited love of conquest not yet,

perhaps, extinguished, and with his fear of Russian aggrandizement excited to a most sensitive pitch—incited, too, by the seething turmoil of Hungarian dread and desire—does not dream of one day raising the Austrian instead of the Russian standard above the Golden Horn? If the Sultan's Empire must crumble and fall, why should not Austria, instead of Russia, enter upon the possession of his legacy? Austria, no less than Russia, craves an

outlet on the sea for her navies and her commerce. Is it likely that the Austrian Emperor would be content with Salonica, and would willingly see the gigantic dominion of Russia extended to the southern seas lying along her eastern Hungarian frontier?

It is thus probable, though not absolutely evident, that the mainsprings of the Austrian policy of to-day are twofold—that that policy has a defensive and an aggressive phase. It is defensive, inasmuch as the advance of Russia would imperil the position, and might disintegrate the dominion, of the kingdom of Hungary. It is probably aggressive, inasmuch as Austria-Hungary has seemingly conceived the ambition to be that dominant power in Southeastern Europe which everybody knows Russia has bent all her energies to be ever since the days of Peter the Great; and imagines that, while obstructing

the advance of Russia, Austria might as well attempt to win the splendid prize herself.

In the event of the coming on of such a war as passing events render probable, with what strength and what prospect of success would Austria-Hungary be able to take the field? What are her military and financial resources? In common with all the great European powers, the Austrian Empire has felt it a necessity in recent years to maintain a great and very costly military armament. The Austrian law of conscription is as severe and universal in its application as is that of the neighboring German Empire. Every Austrian subject must enter the Army at the age of twenty, and must remain in

some branch of the military service for twelve years. For three years he must serve in the active army, for seven in the reserve, and for two more in the Landwehr, corresponding to our militia. No man can in any way have a substitute, and very few exceptions are made exempting Austrian subjects from military duty. The army of the dual Empire is divided into four classes—the active forces, the reserves, the Landwehr and the Landsturm. The latter,

however, only exists in time of war, and is a sort of volunteer auxiliary to the regular order. The total of the standing army on a peace footing, exclusive of the Austrian and Hungarian Landwehr and the military police, is about 255,000 men. On a war footing the numbers rise to over 770,000 men. If to these figures we add the Landwehr and gendarmerie, we find that the entire disposable force in the hands of Francis Joseph is 270,000 on a peace footing, and rather over a million on a war footing. This armament seems small, to be sure, when it is compared with those of the three other Great Continental Powers; for Russia has a war armament of about 2,000,000, Germany of more than 2,500,000, and France over 3,500,000. Never, indeed, has the world witnessed so prodigious a multitude of armed men as appear on to-day's European army rolls.



COUNT BEUST, PRIME MINISTER OF AUSTRIA.

The Austrian Army, in time of war, is provided with 30,000 officers and 200,000 horses. It has forty regiments of cavalry, and twenty-five of artillery. Every year 100,000 young men are added to its ranks. The administration of the Army is a curious result of the dual character of the Empire. The active forces and the reserves are under the authority of the Imperial War Minister, who, as we have seen, is one of the three Ministers who are responsible to the "Delegations." But the force of the Landwehr is controlled in each of the two Kingdoms respectively by the "Ministers of the National Defense," who are responsible to the Austrian and the Hungarian Parliaments. In case of war, however, both Landwehrs come under the central command of Vienna. It is not easy to estimate the skill or courage of the Austrian soldiers of to-day. For twenty years they have not had a chance to show the world the character of their discipline or the metal of their bravery. But it is undoubtedly true that the Emperor's chief reliance, in the event of a great conflict, would be upon his Germans and Magyars. The Austrian Germans share those qualities of intelligence, coolness, endurance, amenity to discipline and precision which enabled their brethren of the north to carry their arms within the walls of Paris, and to achieve, by military power, the unification of Germany. The Magyar is traditionally a fighter of a more vehement and savage sort. On the battlefield he always displayed a fiery impetuosity and *élan* which caused his onset to be dreaded by the Turk on one side of him and the Teuton and Slave on the other. The Magyar has never yet been wholly conquered. Should a war with Russia break out, we may be confident that the brunt of the conflict will fall upon the Magyar, and that he will gladly and eagerly accept it. It is he who is chiefly interested to check Russian aggression southward, and it is he who is inspired with a special hatred of the Cossack, remembering well how it was that Hungary was restored to the iron rule of the Hapsburgs by Russian arms, in the memorable revolution of forty years ago.

The Austrian Navy is a small one, and cannot, of course, be compared with those of England, France, Germany, or even Russia. The seaboard of the Empire is small, and the good naval harbors are few. Still Austria finds it expedient to have a navy comprising thirteen large ironclads, twenty-six cruisers and coast vessels, twenty-two torpedo boats and other smaller naval craft, and about 14,000 marines on a war footing. The Navy is under the control of the Imperial Minister of War. The term of naval service is ten years—three in the active service and seven in the reserve. Austria finds no difficulty in filling her naval quota by voluntary enlistment. In order to keep up her military and naval armaments the Empire spends yearly about 110,000,000 florins, or, taking the florin to be worth about forty cents, nearly \$50,000,000.

The geographical defects of the frontier of the Empire, devoid as it is on several sides of national ramparts and defenses, has been to some degree remedied by artificial fortification. It is a curious fact that Vienna itself is not fortified. But the frontiers of Bohemia and Moravia on the north have many citadels, intrenched camps and strengthened natural fortresses. Hungary is well defended by geographical supports, and the Alpine frontier of the Tyrol is well provided for in respect of fortification. But a land boundary 5,000 miles in extent cannot easily be covered with effectual artificial protection. In a word, Austria-Hungary lies more exposed to invasion than any other great country in Europe.

Finally, the involvement of Austria-Hungary in a great war would no doubt increase the peril to which she is always more or less subject, in spite of the change in her governmental system—that of disintegration by reason of the centrifugal tendencies of some of her states. A mighty convulsion, in which victory would be doubtful, would gravely shake the not very secure foundations of the liberalized Empire. After all is said, the dual Empire is a make-shift system, which is not likely to bear a heavy strain of expense or warlike exertion. We may at least hope that whatever destiny the future may have in store for the Empire, and for its many incongruous sections, the liberties given to the Austrian peoples by the wisdom of modern statesmanship may be permanently enjoyed by them.

"THE best romance," says Ruskin, "becomes dangerous if by its excitement it renders the ordinary course of life uninteresting, and increases the morbid thirst for scenes in which we shall never be called on to act." Further on he writes: "Whether novels or poetry or history be read, they should be chosen not for their freedom from evil, but for their possession of good." That is the very keynote to the whole problem of reading for rich and poor, young and old. It is the standard by which parents and guardians should judge any book they may wish to give their children. The duty and responsibility of making the choice is an onerous one, but must be faced. The young mind is a virgin soil, and whether weeds or rare flowers and beautiful trees are to spring up in it will, of course, depend upon the character of the seeds sown. You cannot scatter literary tares and reap mental corn. A good book is the consecrated essence of a holy genius, bringing new light to the brain and cultivating the heart for the inception of noble motives. Boys' literature of a sound kind ought to help to build up men. Girls' literature ought to help to build up women.

THE Bay of Galway is capacious in size, it has naturally many advantages, and few drawbacks to the making it into a shipping port. It is not so many acres of sea water, useless for all purposes except that of adding to the beauty of the scenery. On the contrary, it is deep all over, capable, at a comparatively small cost, of full utilization, and, being situated at the sea-board of a province rich in undeveloped materials in the waters, on the surface, in mines, in quarries, it is no exaggeration to say that, even at present, the making of Galway into a seaport for transatlantic and other foreign shipping is an enterprise so promising that, were there not ways of accounting for its neglect outside the regions of politico-economic matters, its present condition would be a spectacle of astonishment and a standing disgrace to the common sense, in industrial things, of the people of the United Kingdom.

WHEN Longfellow visited the Queen at Windsor the servants crowded on to the stairs and into the passages to get a view of him. On the Queen's asking them why they were so enthusiastic about the poet, she was told that they used to listen to Prince Albert reading "Evangeline" to his children, and, knowing the lines by heart, they longed to see the man who wrote them. The Queen is fond of telling this story.

In this very busy and practical age, the best of thoughts clothed in the best of words find none too eager readers, and most eloquent preachers speak too often to half-empty pews.